found in tombs confirm these two types.

Domestic life also presents varying types during the pre-Christian period. For example, in the West, between the Elbe and the Vistula, /2/ we find a certain type of tomb and a peculiar Adriatico-Danubian material, and another type east of the Vistula, where the influence of the Black Sea is dominant. From the moment at which the Slavs separated themselves from the other Aryans, the differentiation of the languages began to develop within the race itself; this differentiation has been reinforced by various factors, for example, by the formation of isolated centers, where the cultivation of the soil was carried on intensively, or where a political unit developed, by the movements of various groups and their mixture with foreign elements (for example the migration of the Slavs towards the south and their subsequent career in the Balkan Peninsula). This differentiation became so striking that the primitive people, who formed only a single body, dissolved into a set of groups absolutely distinct one from another. Even today there is no complete agreement in the question of knowing just how far this disaggregation has proceeded and which are the groups that should be considered as being completely independent; but everyone recognizes that there is no longer a single Slavic nationality. There is now a series of individual nations. Today, Slavic unity is merely a theoretical concept played upon by ideas and sentiments, but in the life of the Slavs themselves the moments are rare indeed in which one may discover some remembrance of the vanished unity.

How did this dismemberment take place? /3/ What circumstances caused the groups to spring up? How did that individualization occur, what is the condition of the race today, how many nations may be enumerated? These are some of the questions which Slavic science has not yet completely solved.

The following appears to be the most likely. The nucleus of the primitive Slavic people was between the Oder and the Dnepr; in prehistoric times they reached by successive steps the Elbe, the Saale, the Danube, the Desna, the Niemen, and the Baltic. They disaggregated on this vast territory, partially under the influence of certain geographical conditions, for example, the influence of the large streams and the mountains--partially under the influence of civilizing currents, which are not the same in the Orient as in the Occident, and finally under the influence of linguistic development. At first three groups were established. The first, to the west of the Vistula and the Carpathians, stretched out towards the Occident beyond the Elbe, the Saale,

174 the Elbe, the Saale, and the Sumava (Boehmerwald) and has produced
101 the Slavic branches of the Polabians, Pomorians, Poles, and Czechoslovaks; the second, whose primitive home was between the upper Vistula, the Dnestr, and the middle Danube, descended little by little--save a few tribes to the south of the Carpathians,--some to establish themselves on the Drava, others, after having crossed the Sava and the Danube, in the region of the/4/ Balkans, and formed the Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgar groups; the third group spread out from the basin of the Dnepr in a vast circle to the north as far as the Gulf of Finland, on the upper Dnepr, the Volga, the Oka, to the east, towards the Don, to the south, towards the Black Sea and the lower Danube, and formed the Russian nation; under the influence of diverse conditions this nation differentiated within itself and became altered according to the localities in which it had settled.

101 The various branches of the Slav family are not all equally differentiated from each other. Between the Czechs and the Poles the difference is greater than between the Czechs and the Slovaks. It is greater between the Great Russians and the Poles than between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. Furthermore, in politics and in literature controversies continuously arise in the matter of knowing whether a segment should be considered as a tribe or as an independent nation. There is no agreement at all as to the use of the terms nation, nationality, tribe, branch, any more than as to the actual total number of Slavs.

000 It all depends upon the points of view on the matter of philology, ethnography, history, and or politics. Even when one starts out from the same viewpoint, one can arrive at various conclusions. One philologist sees two languages where another one sees only dialects of the same tongue. Certain of them give greater weight to their hopes for a renaissance, for political individuality, /5/ for national autonomy, than to the scientific data; others, obedient to political considerations, imagine new nations which their rivals are even un-
114 willing to hear mentioned. Thus the number of Slavic nations, and, consequently, the method of handling the entire Slavic problem, differs greatly from one author to another. Thus Dobrowsky (1),--

1. Joseph Dobrowsky, born in 1753, died in 1829, a Czech scholar, the true creator of Slavic philology. See my note about him in the Grande Encyclopedie, Translator.

in order not to go too far back, nor to become involved in too many

1: Niederle--11 E-5 1911 EK Slavic Peoples EK
Historical Russia RA2

S.P. 128 more and more, especially from a political viewpoint.

5. The Slovene group which is not troubled with separatist tendencies.

6. The Serbo-Croat group within which the political divisions and the shades of culture--noticeably in religious matters--are so sharply defined that one must today recognize them as two nations: Serbs and Croats.

7. The very homogeneous Bulgar group. The only point of disagreement is in the matter of the Slavs of Macedonia. Certain people assign them to the Bulgars, others to the Serbs; yet others pretend to recognize here a special nationality, the Macedonian nationality.

In pursuing this study, we shall remain faithful to this framework of seven basic groups. We shall see at the proper time and place to what extent the tendencies of those who wish to break off from these still other independent groups may be justified.

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/8/ No page numbered eight.

I

THE RUSSIANS

H.R. S.P. 174 S 3. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.--In the eastern region which was formed by the division of the primitive people into three groups, developed there the great Russian people which is divided today.

What were the beginnings of this people during the pre-Christian era and the first centuries after the birth of Christ? We know practically nothing about this. It is true that we know of certain names cited by Ptolemy, which apparently refer to them, but there is nothing upon which we may rely. (1) In the fourth century of the Christian era

1. These questions have been studied by the author in a vast work in Czech entitled Slav Antiquities, which also deserves to be tranlated into French. Translator

there appear vague references to a great people called the Antes, a name which denotes the southern Russian tribes between the lower Danube and the Don, but this name later disappears. The information which the Arabs furnish about the Russians of the tenth century is no less enigmatic. It is only with Constantin /10/ Porphyrogenitos and,

1: Niederle--12 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Historical Russia R82

H.R. S.P. 174

more clearly, with the first Chronicle of Kiev, (1) preserved in a manuscript from the twelfth century, that we have somewhat more precise details. These texts inform us that upon the territory of present-day Russia there lived a swarm of tribes which constituted independent units. The writer of these annals enumerates twelve of them:

1. Chronicle said to be by Nestor: see my translation (Leroux, 1884) and the Index which accompanies it. Translator.

H.R. S.P. 101 174

the Slavs of Lake Ilmen, with their center at Novgorod-the-Great.

the Krivichi near the sources of the Dnepr, the Dvina, and the Volga (those who lived on the Polot River were called Polotchani).

the Dregovichi between the Pripet and the Dvina.

the Drevliani to the southwest of the former.

the Poliani from Teterevo to Kiyev, which became their center.

the Dudlebi and Bujani (or Volhynians) on the Bug.

the Tivertsi and the Ulichi on the Dnestr and on the Bug.

the Radimichi on the Soya.

the Viatichi on the Oka.

the Severiani on the Desna, the Seym and the Soula.

the writer of the annals who enumerates these various peoples gathers them together under the collective name of Rus. How did this name Rus originate among this people? Here again is an enigma. (1) But whatever /11/ its origin may be, it is certain that it referred at first to the center at Kiyev, where the first Russian state was founded by the Varangian princes, that from there it spread out rapidly towards the Orient among the Slavs as a political and then an ethnic designation, and that it was applied to certain peoples who, according to the chronicler, were of a Lekh origin.(2)

1. On this enigma, see our edition of Nestor. Translator.

2. Regarding this name, see the second chapter. Translator.

H.R. S.P. 174

The Slavic domain towards the Orient, as it is outlined by the Russian chronicler in the twelfth century, was not originally Slavic territory, it was previously occupied by allogenes /people of another race/ and colonized by the Slavs. The proof of this statement is furnished by the earlier names, Lithuanian and Finnish, in the region located to the north of the Pripet and in the neighborhood of the sources of the Dnepr, in the basins of the Oka and of the Volga. We encounter upon this territory the first Slavic colonization vouched for by texts and not by the primitive people. It is here that the eastern Slavs,

H.R. S.P. 174 before the end of the tenth century and after having left the region of the middle Dnepr, made the first step in their expansion. If one is to believe the chronicle, it was not directed towards the Polish lands. On the contrary, it was the Lekhs who sent out strong colonies towards the east passing through Russian tribes. To compensate for this, Russian colonization was pushed from the earliest period towards the Baltic tribes.

/12/ ...es

/12/ We see the Dregovichi settled upon a territory formerly Lithuanian. The colonization took place still more rapidly and with greater success towards the north and east in the direction of the Finns. Likewise the Krivichi, the Radimichi, the Viatichi (and perhaps a portion of the Severiani) pushed the Chudi, the Muromi, the Mordvini, the Mescheri, and other Finnish tribes out of their original territory.

Towards the Orient the Slavic Severiani pushed forward at an early period and very energetically, and rolled back the Turco-Tatar tribes. This is what is maintained in the texts which, beginning with the sixth century, indicate that the Antes were very numerous along the shores of the Sea of Azov, and which in the ninth and tenth centuries mention numerous Slavic colonies upon the Don and the Volga and the colony of Tmutorokan at the mouth of the Kuban.

It is only towards the south that the development of Slavic colonization was delayed for a considerable period. However, it was favored by the nature of the soil; all of the rivers ran down towards the south, towards the Black Sea.

Here the great obstacle was the invasion of alien peoples who, beginning in the third century A.D., began to occupy for a longer or shorter time the basin of the Black Sea. In the third and fourth centuries there were at first the Goths and the Heruls, then in 376 the Huns, /13/ then towards 482 the Bulgars, (1) then towards 557

1. This refers to the Bulgars of the Volga who later on came to give their name to a section of the Balkan peninsula. Translator.

the Avars. Towards the middle of the seventh century the Khazars crossed over the Don, and finally, during the course of the ninth century, the Magyars of the Ural began heading towards the Danube.

These invasions did not completely arrest the march of the

1: Niederle--14 E-5 1911 EN Slavic Peoples E16
Historical Russia RA 2
U.S. Sp. 174

Slavs towards the south; it is even probable that certain of them, for example those of the Huns and the Avars, carried along after them some Slavic tribes. But during this period it is impossible to speak of a true colonization, of a settlement of Slavs upon the Black Sea.

It is likely that it was only after the Avar invasion[2] that the Russian tribes succeeded in establishing themselves in large groups (the Tivertsi, the Ulichi) along the lower reaches of the Dnepr, the Dnestr, and the Danube.

The movement toward the south became more pronounced. Sviatoslav (957-972) established his permanent residence at Preslav (in present-day Bulgaria). Then a new obstacle arose. This was the arrival of the Pechengs, the Turks (the Uz), the Polovtsians or Kumans. The tribes and the Russian princes were compelled to carry on long struggles against these newcomers in the lower basin of the Don and the Dnepr. Finally there came the Tatar invasion. Victorious in 1224, they ravaged and depopulated /14/ the greater part of southern Russia from the Kalka to Kiyev, the Volhynia, Galicia, and Transylvania and even menaced the Russian lands in the northeast. (1)

1. It has been claimed that the region of Kiyev lost its entire primitive Russian population and that it was only repeopled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by colonies coming from Galicia. But it has not been proved that this hypothesis is well founded. However, it is certain, as is testified to by the Carpin Map dated 1346, that the country was very sparsely peopled and that beginning with the fifteenth century the Polish lords introduced many new colonies into the vast domains which they had acquired.

All of these invasions exercised a strong and lasting influence upon the destiny of the Russian nation. They cut it off for a long time from access to the south and west. On the other hand, the pressure which they had brought upon the Tivertsi, the Volhynians, the Poliani, and the Severiani compelled these peoples to withdraw to the Carpathians, beyond the Pripet, the Sula, the Desna, driving other tribes before them; and the Russian nation was set in motion in a northern and north-eastern direction against the Finns. Bit by bit the Finnish territory was occupied by the Russians and colonized.

In addition to the Viatichi, the Krivichi, and the Severiani, the principal agents of this colonization were the Slavs of Novgorod, particularly in the basin of the Onega, the Dvina, the Vychegda, the Pechora, the Kama, and the Vyatka. These are the principal episodes in the development of the Russian people until the end of /15/ the Tatar domination, that is until the fifteenth century.

2 [In the 6th century A.D. -- Analyst]

1: Niederle--63 E-5 1911 EK Slavic Peoples E/G
Sorbs
Czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. 101 182 areas formerly ran from Zagan (Sagan) on the Bobrawa through Muzakov, Grodk, Kolany, Kupsk (Muckenberg), Wikow (Elsterwerda) towards Bielagora (Belgern) on the Elbe, and it has remained in conformity with this line in matters relating to the Sorb population.

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V

/99/ THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS

S.P. C. 101 S 20.--Historical Introduction.---The Czechs also belong to the western branch, as well as the Slovaks, who, from more than one viewpoint, may be considered as forming only a single nation with them, even though fate has already separated them to a considerable degree and, judging by all appearances, should further enlarge this separation.

These two branches developed from a common center, which alongside the Polish and the Polabre center, was located somewhere to the north of the Sudeten Mountains and perhaps reached as far as Moravia; it is from this region that the ancestors of the Czechs and the Slovaks came into the regions where history verifies their presence.

S.P. C. 174 [172] 101 They came there from the north, perhaps all together in a single move, perhaps at various periods. The texts contain nothing about this; archaeology, while admitting the Slavic and particularly the Czech character of the cinerary tombs of the Lusatian type, can only conjecture that Bohemia and Moravia were occupied before the middle of the first century B.C. /100/ The cradle of the Czechs and the Slovaks is to be found further to the north, but, taking into account archaeological data, one may to a certain degree regard them as being indigenous to Bohemia and to Moravia. The same may be said for the branch settled in Hungary. Dr. Czambel chose to state in recent times that the Slovaks did not come with the Czechs, that they came by themselves and from another region, from the southeast,--all this in order to demonstrate that the Slovaks do not belong to the western group, but to the southern group. But this theory lacks foundation from the viewpoint of history and of philology. The linguistic kinship shows without argument that the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to the same group as the Sorbs of Lusatia, the

S.P. C. 174 197 101

[The Czechs and Slovaks — Analyse]

1: Niederle--64 E-5 1911 E/6 Slavic Peoples E/6
Czechoslovakia E 81

S.P. 17 [145] 101

Poles, the Polabes, and that they carried out their migration at the same time as these.

The Czecho-Slovaks, after having crossed the Sudeten and the Carpathians, settled at first in the north of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of Slovakian Hungary; to the south there were settled Gallic, Illyro-Thracian tribes, later on also the Germanic peoples of the Marcomani and the Quadi. After the departure of these allogenes, the Slavs spread not only over the territory on which they are established today, but even much farther to the south. This applies to the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia and also to the Slovaks of Hungary; the latter still have numerous islands /101/ in the counties of Esztergom, of Budapest, to the south in those of Bars* and of Nograd, and positive indications prove that formerly they extended much farther toward the south in the areas in which they encountered colonies of Slovenes and Bulgars.

To the east, it is difficult to determine the ancient frontiers. Their delimitation by the Vah, the Hron, and the Tepla rests only upon hypotheses. However, we do know that the frontier in those days did not extend as far as today,--that is, almost as far as the Tisza. For the greater part of the western Slovaks are made up of Russians assimilated during the historic period. To the north the Polish Gorals (Mountaineers) had penetrated across the mountains in the regions of Trencin, of Orava and of Spis. In the north the frontier followed the Sudeten Mountains (the regions of Sluknov and Friedland were Sorbian (1)

1. Of course this refers to the Sorbs of Lusatia; see the preceding chapter. (Translator).

and composed the district of Zagozd*). In Silesia, the region of Opava was Czech. In the west, the Czechs, in the twelfth century, when their written history began were beginning to penetrate across the Bohemian Mountains (Boemerwald, in Czech, Sumava) as far as Bavaria and in the south even beyond the Danube. How far did they go into Pannonia? Did they indeed settle there, they or the ancestors of the Slovaks? This cannot be ascertained with certainty. /102/ In all likelihood, they went at least as far as Lake Balaton, as is vouched for by the history of the princes Pribina, Kocel, and Svatopluk. (1)

1. About these persons, consult my work on Cyrille et Methode (Paris, librairie Franck, 1868).

Like the other Slavic peoples, the Czechs at first did not form a single nation. We know little of the internal situation in Hungary

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 58-63 -- Anal. A]

S.P. c. 174 101

and in Moravia, at the beginning of history. However, it appears very likely that the different groups which are still met with today, the Czechs properly speaking, the Hanaks, the Lahs, the Slovaks, and the Valachs existed in those days. But we do not know where the frontier between the Czechs and the Slovaks was located: was it on the lower and middle Morava, as Safarik would have it, or farther to the east?

We know more about the Czechs. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see leaving the forest bordering Germany, a whole series of tribes that appear among them: to the north from the sources of the Oharka, proceeding towards the east, the Sedlicany, the Lucany, the Lemuze, the Deczany, the Litomerice, the Psovaňy, the Charvaty (Czechs?); in the center, the Czechs; near them the Zliczany; and to the south in the area of Budejovice (Budweiss), the Dudlebi.

Very soon the Czechs became the most numerous and strongest of all of these tribes /103/; thanks to their central location, they soon dominated the other tribes and fused them into a single people. From the ninth century their name was used to designate the entire aggregation of tribes.

S.P. c. 175

Thus this nation was formed. Settled in the watershed between the streams flowing to the north and those flowing to the south, near the source of the large rivers, protected by natural walls, it developed under excellent conditions. And, were it not for the errors of its princes, who through egoism caused serious damage to its prosperity and to its future, the history of this nation would have been entirely different from what it has been, and would occupy today a different position in the Slavic world from that which it now occupies.

S.P. c. 175 167

What caused it a terrible blow was the German colonization in Bohemia and Moravia. In the south, the Germans, pushing forward along the Danube towards the east, thrust back the Czecho-Slovaks who were settled in this region. This was a completely natural movement and one which should not have caused any great harm to the development of the Czech national group, seeing that the Germans would soon come into collision with the Magyars on the Litava (Leitha).

What was particularly harmful to the Czechs was the German colonization summoned into the country by the national princes of the Premysls dynasty, Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230), Vaclav I (1230-1253)

1 [Czechoslovakia — Analyse]

1: Niederle--85 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/C Czechoslovakia E/C Slovenes EF7

S.R. C. M4 142 The outcome of all this is that the Czech type does not actually form a unique type. This circumstance is still more striking if one considers the diffusion of certain characteristics, for example, complexion. Thus the light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is found in the center of Bohemia and Moravia only in a ratio of 14%; in the mountainous sections it reaches from 20 to 25%, and in certain frontier regions where the Germans are in the majority in the northeast, it exceeds 30%. In contrast, we find in these regions 20 to 25% of the dark type; the proportion exceeds more than 25% in the mountainous regions of the Podripsko and of the Podbrdsko; but on the Czecho-Moravian plateau in certain neighborhoods it reaches only between 11 and 15%.

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VI

THE SLOVENES

S.R. Sl. 101 174 S 25. Historical Introduction.--The Slovenes represent the southwestern fraction of the southern Slavs. They are the last remains of a formerly powerful group which occupied at the beginning of the Middle Ages the regions included between the bend of the Danube and the Adriatic pathway and which penetrated deeply into the Alpine regions. (1)

1. Sclaueni, Stlaueni, Sklavenoi, Sthlauenoi of the ancient texts. The word Slovene (in the language of the country Slovenec, Slovenka, in German--Slowenen) has become popular since the period of national renaissance. The Germans frequently use the designations Winden, Windisch, which may be found in many of the topographic names.

It is not known at what period the Slavs appeared for the first time in these regions. The indications, unfortunately extremely uncertain, seem to point to their having crossed the Danube at about the beginning of the Christian era, and to have appeared in the regions of Lake Balaton (Plattensee) and of the Sava. But substantial historical and archeological evidence is lacking.

/136/ One hears it affirmed constantly that the Slavs are the original races in the region of the Alps; these are vain statements. In these countries before the Christian era there lived the Ligurians, the Illyrian, Rhaetian, and Gallic tribes and some survivors of non-Aryan tribes.

Sl. S.R. 101

What is certain is that, from the end of the sixth century, this

1: Niederle--92 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples
serbs EF6
Slovenes EF7
Croats EF4

S.P. Sl. 177 101 [144] 2. A Pole, despite his French name, Mr. Beaudoin de Courtenay today lives in St. Petersburg. Translator.

Friul, in the neighborhood of Udine. They are crossed with /146/ Serbo-Croatian blood and perhaps with another, which explains why their language is divided into four dialects. These Slavs of the Friul are settled in eight purely Slovenian communes of the district of San Pietro, in three communes and several mixed localities of the districts of Taranto, Cividale, Gemona and in the purely Slavic commune of Resia (district of Moggio--German, Reschenscheideeck). Beaudoin de Courtenay estimates that the Slavs of the districts of Gemona and of Tarcento are Serbo-Croats, those of Stara Gora and of Cividale are Slovenes; according to him the inhabitants of the district of San Pietro are Slovenes crossed with Croats and Resians, the product of the mixture of a non-Aryan people with the primitive Slavs.

S.P. Sl. 144

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/147/

VII

THE CROATS AND THE SERBS

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101 § 29. Historical Introduction. --The Croats and the Serbs belong like the Slovenes and the Bulgars to the south Slav or Yugo-Slav family (1). They formed at the outset a single group, which history has divided into two sections, into two nations, the Serbs and the Croats. Both of these two nations, even though they are conscious of their kinship, lay claim to an autonomous life.

1. Yugo means south. Translator.

Cr. Sl. S.P. [197] Even formerly there existed distinctions between the various sections of the future Serb unit and the future Croat unit. But these distinctions were not deep ones. They consisted of dialectic shades of difference, the organization into different tribes, distinct political outlooks, etc.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 174 [197] At the beginning we find ourselves in the presence of an aggregat of tribes belonging to a single group, belonging to a single linguistic type with very slight differences; this group left its early homeland in the region of the /148/ Carpathians, moved towards the Danube, then the Dra the Sava and the Balkan peninsula. The various tribes settled over a considerable extent of territory, without geographic unity; they were separated by the mountains; theycommunicatedwith each other with

1 [i.e. Resians in the Friul -- Analyst]

S.P. Cr. Sb. 174 [101]

difficulty. They isolated themselves from one another, they were concentrated in different political groups, they assimilated the debris of the autochtonous nations. In the northwest the Croat area in the largest sense of the word took shape--bounded in the tenth century by the sea as far as the mouth of the Cetina (Tsetinia), established on the Kupa and the Drava--the location of the frontier along the Bosnian side is not clearly known; and on the other hand the Serbian area in the largest sense of the word included everything to the east of Croatia as far as the Shara mountains (Shar-Planina) and the region of the Morava. To this Serbian region Constantin Porphyrogenetos added the maritime tribes of the south between the Cetina (Tsetinia) and the Piva, Scutari (Skadar) and Durazzo (Drac). But originally these regions did not belong to the Serbs. At what epoch did the Serbo-Croats occupy this territory? We do not know exactly.

Certain families, perhaps even tribes, crossed the Danube before the fifth century, but the total immigration did not take place before the fifth or sixth centuries. What we may affirm is that they did not come in the seventh century in the reign of Heraclius (about 630-640), as is recounted by Constantin /149/ Porphyrogenetos according to tradition; they took part in the general immigration movement of the Slavs towards the Balkan peninsula in the fifth and sixth centuries.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101 175

From the very beginning the history of these Slavs, conditioned by geographic influences, followed two different currents. The tribes of the northwest, settled in favorable conditions near the sea, were the first to form a sizeable state (perhaps from the seventh century, but especially during the ninth and tenth centuries). They gave to it the name of Croatia, the origin of which is not known and of which no satisfactory explanation exists.

The tribes of the south and of the east were a long way from the sea; they inhabited a mountainous and poor region; they did not develop a political life until later on, towards the tenth or eleventh century. They grouped themselves about the tribe of the Serbs which originally was settled on the Tara, Lim, and Ibar Rivers. It is in Novi Pazar (ancient Rascia) that the word Srbia is first met with. This name spread throughout the region of the southwest which was detached from the Croat national unit. From that time two political entities developed side by side, often even in combat with each other; and political divorce finally took place when Croatia in 1102 became

1: Niederle--113 E-5 1911 E16Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs E56
Croats E57
Bulgaria E51
S.P. 573 C5. 36. 136

(for example Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and especially in Bosnia. This province is truly an apple of discord between these two national groups. Here the Austrian government is attempting to do things somewhat by chance without having a clearly defined idea regarding nationality.

000 What will come of this? What will happen to the country after the annexation? What will be the new relations between Croats and Serbs? We cannot yet tell today.

From the viewpoint of science and of the Slav idea, one should at least proceed with honesty and not shut one's eyes to the true facts. At the outset it would be necessary to determine through an accurate census the relative situation of the Serbs and the Croats and to treat with justice all of the national and political groups. Furthermore, it will no longer be necessary to invent a third Croato-Serbian nation, the Bosnian (1) nation, as was conceived of by the

1. Certainly, the concept of a Bosnian nation existed before. One may read in the twelfth century chronicle of Kinnamos: "Bosthna...ethos idia para taute zon," (Bosnia...is a nation living by itself), and one often finds that the Bosnians are considered to be a nation. But this designation, which was based upon political considerations, is no longer justified.

Kallay government a few years ago. Moreover, this innovation was in no wise successful. Since 1907, the official designation "Bosnian" has been replaced by the correct designation "Serbo-Croat."

VIII

THE BULGARS

S.P. B. 101 S 33. Historical Introduction.---The last Slav people produced by the differentiation of the South-Slav group, is the Bulgars.

Almost all of them live on the Balkan peninsula.

S.P. B. 101 174 Like the other South-Slavs they had their cradle much farther north, somewhere, near the Carpathians, in the vicinity of the Russians. Between the third and the fifth century, they abandoned the Carpathians, began to push through the Thracian and Scytho-Sarmatian tribes, towards the lower Danube, and in the sixth century reached the Balkans. At this time the Slavic tribes of the Peninsula did not have a common ethnic name. They were called Slavs like their neighbors the Serbs

1: Niederle--114 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/C
Bulgaria EE1

S.P. B. 101 174

and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

S.P. [197]

On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

S.P. B. 175

The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

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It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape German and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939.

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a compilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

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For many years the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and the Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Carinthians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, and settled among them, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs also settled on the Dnieper, and were called Polyanians. Still others were called Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also settled between the Pripet and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes settled on the Dvina and became known as Polotians, from a small stream named the Polot, which flows into the Dvina. . . . The Slavs also settled around lake Ilmen, and were there known by their own name. They built a city, and called it Novgorod. Still others had their settlements along the Desna, the Sem, and the Sula, and were called Severians. And thus the Slavic race was scattered, and likewise its language was known as Slavic.

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In this passage, apart from the detail expended by the author on particularizing the various Eastern Slavic tribes which had fallen under the sway of Kiev more than two centuries before he wrote, what is most striking is his implication that neither the Western Slavs (Czechs, Moravians, and Poles) nor the Eastern Slavs were, in the annalist's view, indigenous to the areas they occupied in his day. He accepts the tradition that the original home of the Slavs was on the middle Danube, from which region (as he relates) they were displaced at an earlier undefined period by a nation known as the Vlakhs, under whose pressure they sought safer residences to the north and northeast. Now, while the term Vlakh has various meanings,

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it would be most natural here to attach it to the Celtic Gauls who penetrated the Danube basin early in the fourth century B.C. and then, under the leadership of a chief named Brennus, marched down through Thrace and Macedonia and invaded Greece as far as Delphi in 280. The only difficulty lies in the absence of the slightest indication in Greek or Latin historians and geographers that the Slavs, or any part of them, were present on the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. Nor are there in this area any early place names demonstrably Slavic which would show these sources to be faulty in this respect.

In fact, though the evidence of this passage from the Russian annals led numerous medieval and early modern historians in the last century to accept the Danubian origin of the Slavs, other much more reliable and older sources place them further north beyond the Carpathian Mountains when they make their first appearance in history. To be sure, the Slavs do not begin their historical career under this name, but under another which is etymologically related to the English term "Wends" or the German "Wenden," frequently applied to the Slavs in our own day. As the Venedi, Veneti, or Venedae, they are thus mentioned by Pliny the Elder and by Tacitus during the first century, and by the Egyptian astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote in Greek toward the end of the second century. Pliny locates them vaguely in the vicinity of the Vistula. Tacitus is equally indefinite, placing them in the unknown country east of the Suebic confederacy, which he knew as Germanic. Ptolemy mentions them as one of the major nations living along the Venedic Gulf, which appears to be his term for the section of the Baltic coast northeast of the Vistula.

The identity of the Venedae of the Baltic with the Slavs is established in the sixth century by Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, who says of them in one passage: "From the source of the Vistula river immense areas are occupied by the populous nation of the Venethae, who, though their appellations may change in various clans and districts, are mainly called

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174 114 *Sclaveni* and *Antae*," and adds elsewhere, "Though deriving from one stem, they have now adopted three names, that is, Venethi, Antes, and Sclaveni." The "Ravenna Cosmographer," an anonymous geographic work not later than the seventh century, mentions the *Sclavini* as living in Scythia, which is here a generic term for northeastern Europe, while the ninth-century Latin text known as the "Anonymous Bavarus," with the full title "Description of the cities and regions on the north bank of the Danube," speaks of the *Zeruiani* (the name is obviously related to the modern terms *Serb* and *Sorb*), "which is so great a realm that from it, as their tradition relates, all the tribes of the Slavs are sprung and trace their origin."

Such of these sources as belong to the sixth century or later obviously reflect a period when the Slavic dispersion had already begun, but they are interesting as early datable appearances of the name *Slav* and as a sound basis for identifying Wends and Slavs as the same people.

174 197 Linguistic evidence also impels us to place the Slavs north of the Carpathians before their dispersion. Old Slavonic not only shows traces of contacts with Thracian, Iranian, and Germanic, but is also closely related to Lithuanian and exerted some influence on the early Finnish vocabulary. The only area where such extensive relations could have developed must necessarily have been north and east of the Carpathian chain.

174 141 It is likewise true that such anthropological evidence as we have identifies the proto-Slavs rather with the northern long-headed race than with the primitive Central European brachycephalics, though even at the epoch of Slavic unity the cephalic index was by no means uniform, and with the lapse of time the stronger shortheaded brunette type came to dominate among the Slavs, as it does indeed today.

174 114 The topological nomenclature of the Carpathian range is, moreover, not Slavic, thus indicating that the early Slavs lived beyond these mountains and the forests which clothed them. Furthermore, Herodotus mentions as adjacent and subject to

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the Scythians, but as distinct from them, a tribe known as the Neuri, who lived between the upper Dniester and the middle Dnieper rivers, and certain related Slavic place names indicate that they extended to the basins of the western Bug and the Vistula. This tribe is therefore generally regarded as Slavic, and on this basis it may be held with some certainty that the proto-Slavs as early as the fifth century B.C., and thus long before their dispersion, inhabited an area at least as far to the east as modern Kiev.

To the west it is not possible to place the proto-Slavic boundary beyond the Vistula, since all ancient historians mention this river as the eastern boundary of Germanic settlement. A further indication of this western Slavic frontier is the fact that the vocabulary of the proto-Slavs lacked a word for the beechtree, which grows west of a line roughly connecting Königsberg and Odessa, so that the Slavs were forced to borrow this name from their early Germanic neighbors. There is no good archaeological evidence to indicate that the proto-Slavs ever extended as far as the Elbe, though their medieval descendants reached it. Neither did they touch the Baltic, for the area north of the string of lakes and marshes which separates modern East Prussia from Polish territory was inhabited at the beginning of the Christian era by Baltic tribes akin to the present-day Lithuanians, who likewise occupied the basins of the Memel and the Dvina between the Slavs and the Gulf of Riga. Before the Christian era, the proto-Slavs were also separated from the Black Sea by a succession of Iranian tribes who occupied the southern steppe or prairie country, but they must have touched the navigable portions of the Russian rivers west of the Crimea, since Old Slavonic borrowed the Greek word for boat.

The habitat of the primitive Slavs before their dispersion was thus an irregular oblong area northeast of the Carpathians, extending eastward from the basin of the middle Vistula to the course of the Dnieper north and south of Kiev, bounded on the

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north by the rivers Narev and Pripet, and along its southern edge touching the headwaters of the Prut, the Dniester, and the Bug, which are all rivers flowing into the Black Sea.

The very origin of the names "Wend" and "Slav" is problematic. The term "Wend" has sometimes been regarded as connected with the Danish *vand,* the modern equivalent of Old Norse "vatn" (water), so that the Wends would derive this appellation from being water dwellers or lake dwellers. Though there are traces of Slavic lake dwellers, the difficulty here is that the name, being found in Pliny and Tacitus, is far older than any Slavic contacts with the Danes as such. For geographical reasons also, the earliest Slavic contacts must have been not with North Germanic, but with East Germanic tribes, who (if we may judge by the Gothic vocabulary) used for water the terms "wato," without a nasal, or (in the case of a river or any body of water) "ahwa," akin to the familiar Latin "aqua." Efforts to correlate the name "Wends" with a Germanic word "wenden," to wander, so that it might signify "the wanderers," collide with the objection that both early East and West Germanic cognates of this verb simply mean "to turn," with no implication of wandering at all. Any connection with the Gothic word "winja" (pasturage) is to be rejected because of the absent dental (d), though there is abundant evidence to prove that the primitive Slavs were relatively skilful agriculturists and cattleraisers. Similarly, it is hardly possible to justify a connection between the name "Wend" and the Indo-European base **uen,* meaning "to strive, to wish, to love," even through such a derivative as Old Norse "vinr," friend. The Slavic etymologies proposed are even more uncertain, so that, for lack of anything better, the most reasonable supposition is that "Wend" is related to the early Celtic base "uindo," which means "white." It would thus appear that this was the appellation applied by the dark-haired Celts in the Danube basin to their blond neighbors behind the Carpathians, and this interpretation is the more appealing since there are pure Slavic tribal names of which the definition "white" or "blond" is a com-

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II

The Slavic Migrations

We have seen that there is no evidence that the Slavs or any part of them were present in the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. The Gothic historian Jordanes, writing in 551 A.D., reports that in his day the Slavs were occupying the whole valley of the lower Danube from its junction with the Save river to the sea, and that they extended east as far as the Dniester and north to the Vistula. On the basis of this passage historians have frequently maintained that the Slavs did not reach the Danube valley until the migratory Germanic tribes had evacuated both Germany and Hungary, but that their movement was so rapid that they overran this area as soon as its previous occupants had left it. Since the Byzantine historian Procopius associates the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans with the accession of the Emperor Justinian in 521, it was easy to conclude that the Slavic movement southward began about this date.

There are, however, grounds to believe that the Slavic march toward and across the Danube was a process of longer duration, and actually began considerably earlier. It may be recalled that those tremendous movements known as the barbarian migrations started in the first century A.D. Numerous Germanic tribes made their way from eastern Germany through the Sudeten

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defiles into Moravia even before the year 200. These shifts of population are explicable by the pressure not only of the Lombards and the Goths, but also of the Slavs, and after the Goths reached the Black Sea during the third century, the Slavs were doubtless the chief impelling factor in such migratory movements. That the Slavic expansion was by no means a brief and spatially limited process is borne out by the fact that in the sixth century we find the Slavs already settled from the Elbe and the Saale in the west to the Don in the east, and from the Baltic in the north to the Adriatic and the Aegean in the south. They were thus occupying an area five times greater than their original home, and during the process of settlement they did not evacuate and abandon their primitive habitat, as so many German tribes (Goths, Lombards, Vandals, Burgundians) are known to have done. This fact alone indicates a slow expansion in all directions rather than a sudden shift of position.

We find in the sources some respectable evidence to support this opinion. In 448, for instance, the Emperor Theodosius II sent an embassy from Constantinople deep into Pannonia (modern Hungary) to buy off Attila and his Huns, who had recently menaced the metropolis. One member of the embassy, named Priscus, has left an account of its long and arduous journey, in the course of which he speaks of meeting in Hungary an hospitable local population whose language was not Hungarian, and who supplied a drink made of honey called *medos*. This form is probably nothing more than a Greek spelling of Old Slavonic *medŭ*, since honey beer is a traditional Slavic drink and Priscus would have written the word with an *i* if he had been talking about Gothic mead. Jordanes also mentions that the funeral of Attila was accompanied by a great feast called a *strava*, which is a well-known medieval Slavic usage, apart from the fact that the word itself is pure Slavic.

Somewhat earlier during the fourth century it is also recorded that the Sarmatians in the Hungarian plain were expelled from there by the subject rural population, who are

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identified soon after as Wends, that is, Slavs. Apart from these rather tenuous historical data, there are also a certain number of place names dating as far back as the second century not only in the western district between the rivers Drave and Save, but also in Hungary north of the Danube, which cannot be etymologized as anything but Slavic. It is therefore probable that some Slavic infiltration into this area began as early as the first century, and it is entirely certain that Slavs were present there between the third and the fifth centuries. We may thus conclude that the Slavs began to drift into the basins of the Danube and the Save at the very opening of the Christian era, appearing at first simply as isolated islands among an alien population. The slowness of this penetration would then explain the relatively isolated character of the early place names which reflect this drift. The Slavs did not therefore hit the Danube Valley in a sudden wave. After the first scattered settlers had arrived, the major movement set in during the third century when all populations north of the Carpathians were in a state of flux, so that by Jordanes's day (551) their occupancy of the Danube basin was an established fact of fairly long standing.

While it is not difficult to date in this fashion the arrival of the Slavs in the Danube basin, there is no evidence that they penetrated the Balkans proper before the year 500, unless we may suppose with some likelihood that isolated Slavic bands accompanied the numerous alien invaders known prior to that date. In any case, there is no question of real Slavic occupation of the Save and the Danube until the sixth century. Early in its course, when the Byzantine frontiers were being harassed by Huns, Bulgars, and Avars, the Slavs were also on the march southward, and they frequently made common cause with these invaders. Their chief center of population at this period was on the middle reaches of the Danube and in modern Walachia, but they attacked on a long front from Dalmatia to the very walls of Constantinople itself. With the Avars, energetic Turko-Tartars of Asiatic origin who had fought their way across the

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steppes to the Danube, they threatened the Greek peninsula, where their first occupation dates from 581.

Contemporary chroniclers report that the Slavs had by that time acquired wealth by pillage and fought even better than the regular Greek troops. On the Adriatic, they occupied the districts of Illyria, Dalmatia, and Istria early in the seventh century. Shortly afterward the Slavs on the western front (the Czechs and those on the Adriatic seaboard) overthrew the Avar hegemony and became independent, but after the Avars were thus weakened, the Slavs never menaced Constantinople again. Yet by the end of the seventh century the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula, especially Macedonia and its neighborhood, was populated by Slavs. They even took to the sea and reached Crete in 623. At the height of the Avar expansion, the Slavs had already passed through Thessaly, Epirus, and Attica, and reached the Peloponnese in 588. Here their occupation was so formidable that, for the next two centuries, a Byzantine Greek scarcely dared set foot in the southern portion of the peninsula, while in the north the Danube was never again fixed as the frontier of the Byzantine Empire after 601. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the Slavs were ever in the majority in Greece proper. Subject Greeks still formed the mass of the population. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain the eventual and rather rapid subsequent disappearance of the Slavic element south of Macedonia.

Once the Slavs were firmly established in the Balkans, they immediately became exposed to the older cultures they found there. Those on the Adriatic coast and in the western Danube basin felt the impact of Latin civilization transmitted through romanized native populations, through colonial centers, or through the cities of the seaboard. When they settled within the sphere of Greek influence, the dominant cultural pressure was Byzantine. The results of these accidents of location are still discernible in the intellectual orientation of the Balkan Slavs.

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Slavonic, although the two idioms have undergone widely variant evolutions over a long period. It is generally held by competent scholars that there was at some early date an epoch of Balto-Slavic unity. Precisely when this unity existed it is not so easy to say. The facts that certain Iranian words appear in Slavic without a counterpart in Lithuanian, and that the Balts borrowed other words from Finnish which the Slavs do not possess, have given rise to the theory that the Balts and the Slavs had separated before the arrival of the Scythians and even early in the bronze age, hence before 1000 B.C. But these are very tenuous proofs, and the most we can say with certainty is that the Balts and the Slavs had been separated for a long time before history knew either of them.

The modern extent of Lithuanian (Baltic) territory in Lithuania, Latvia, and their environs is, moreover, much more limited than it was in an earlier age, for before the westward migration of the Finns from the Volga, the Letto-Lithuanian people occupied the Baltic coast from the Vistula to the Gulf of Finland and the interior across White Russia (Byelorussia) to the western limit of the Finns between the upper Volga and Moscow rivers north of the line of settlement of the early Eastern Slavs. There were Lithuanian survivals, a tribe known as the Galindians, near Moscow as late as the thirteenth century, showing that Slavic colonization in central Russia encountered not only Finns, but also Balts. The Russian *Primary Chronicle* thus knows not only the Galindians, but also the Prussians on the coast east of the Vistula, and the Lithuanians (a specific tribal name) and other Baltic units around the Gulf of Riga where the Letts now reside. It should be noted that the German Prussians derive their name from the old home of the Lithuanian Prussians, that is, modern East Prussia, the country south of Danzig and Königsberg. This area was subjugated by the Teutonic knights during the thirteenth century, after which the eradication of the original Baltic inhabitants proceeded so rapidly that the language had died out by the year 1700.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16

III

ELEMENTS OF A FOLK-CHRISTIANITY AND ITS RELATION TO MAGIC

Procopius in describing the manners of the Slavs has a remark to this effect; that while they believed in a supreme God and in many spirits and demons and lesser gods, they neither believed in any fate, nor in any direct influences over human life of a supernatural nature. What the writer meant to convey by this extraordinary statement is not known, unless that at that time the ideas of predestination, the cult of fates, who regularly preside over births, and that of the ancestors, for whose service the most characteristic ceremonies of the peasant are designed, were not in evidence; or that in general the religious attitude of these barbarians differed essentially from that of the Greeks. Procopius goes on to say that, when a man felt himself to be in particular danger, through sickness or through war, he promised gifts to the gods, and, if the situation were grave he made these in fact, hoping therewith to redeem his life. This is still a fundamental element of popular prophylaxis. Apart from such literary curiosities, the early religion of the South Slavs can only be reconstructed from later evidence, from recent folk-lore, and, in this case, not very helpful archaeological study.

For the more northern branches of the Slavic race, there is ample evidence of a pagan priesthood, of a shamanistic type, and of an organised cult, with a foundation of animistic magic, an established ritual, calendar and shrines. There is no conclusive record of anything approaching such a highly organised system amongst the South Slavs, and the traces of idol worship have received no concrete archaeological confirmation up to date. The fuller accounts of Helmoldus amongst the West Slavs, and of Nestor amongst the Russians,

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
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Historical Yugoslavia EF2

IV

SOURCES OF ANCIENT MAGIC AND MEDICINE

I

During the pagan and semi-pagan period the Slavs lived in small, independent tribes, later forming loose federations within territorial limits. For long the Greeks were unable to negotiate with them, because they did not agree among themselves and had no central authority. The organisation of a united state in Rascia coincided with the establishment of state Christianity, and the pagan empire of Bulgaria was comparatively short-lived.

The tribal religious cult was likely to have been an extension of a domestic cult, probably rarely accompanied by the specialised functions of an official priesthood. The domestic cult lasts to the present day. The head of the household officiates in ceremonial, and the assistance of an outsider is not essential. In ceremonial which involves the whole tribe or village, the heads of households—the tribal elders—are again responsible; but that they have not an entire monopoly of ritual is evident in ceremonies which are performed by a group without a specially chosen leader, particularly those which belong to the younger people, or ceremonies conducted by old women doctors, etc.[1]

[1] The rites of the peasants hint also at an independent development. It is not true only that the non-Christian element enjoyed a revival, tended to revert to type, after the fall of the mediaeval empire. A direction was taken at that time, perhaps, in which the popular religion continued a course of development and adaptation. The popular religion, or sometimes a popular aversion to religion as well as to social forms that flourished under a feudal church, must have sought new outlets much earlier. Local forms of peasant cults must be of comparatively recent growth, and contain more than the survivals of an ancient paganism. The *slava*, for instance, is a typical example of a domestic rite which does not require a special priesthood. It has become perhaps the central

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

B Y SP 795 793 756 [887] There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

B Y SP [845]

R SP 771 171 In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

connection with Asiatic shamanism was suggested many years ago. On the whole, the characteristics of magical practice are better mapped regionally than ethnologically; the Russian and West Slavs falling beside the Baltic and Finnish races of the north; while Balkan Slav folk-lore more closely resembles that of the neighbouring southern races.

In the process of time a religious sentiment has grown up about the ritual inherited from ancient semi-magical rites; and direct magic, conceived as such, figures principally as a part of a medical system, in which, however, empiricism now predominates, and magic is applied rationalistically. This division between applied magic and religion, between charm worker and the priest, seems to have existed since early times.

The pagan cult, as far as can be judged, recognised innumerable local and tribal gods, associated with the various activities of the people, such as war, agriculture, etc., or representing personifications; and an equally important cult of trees, stones and waters, in which, according to some, gods or spirits were supposed to reign. The Slavs of the East could not swear by trees, fountains or stones (but the priests gave accused persons the choice of trial by ploughshare, iron or

custom can in any sense be said to live, though it come out of the past it is also a part of actuality and a factor of present-day life and psychology. The popular religion is more sophisticated, and probably greatly more varied than any reconstruction of primitive cults that could be made. It depends on the vigour of the church organisation locally how far a distinction is made between standard Christian practice and the rest, and how far the non-Christian part of tradition is looked upon as not wholly in conformity with the nominal faith. Left to itself the folk-mind blends diverse elements into a single law. Certainly custom, particularly religious custom, is not in origin a direct response to the physical environment. Adjustment to the demands of a ruling class, for instance, is not expressed only on the economic plane. But there is a tendency to try to adapt institutions—even those forced upon a community—to material circumstances. Hence the permeation of all peasant cults by the dominant interest in provision for life and the staying of disaster. The Church would have had little chance of survival here had its rites not received an economic and apotropaeic interpretation, far removed from the spiritual benefits of its written doctrine.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Yugoslavia EF1
Slavic Peoples E16

Austrian Colonel Borovicaka, these huts were, in 1858, the normal type of house in the Kossovo valley (1).

The Czech historian L. Niederle is more plain about the present subject. According to him the old typical house of the Balkan Slavs appears as a simple hut (kuc'a) with small auxiliary spaces near it. But when he examines the Slav dwellings in general, he says that «only the Serbs, the Kroats and the Bulgars ignored the ante-room from the beginning (le vestibule)», that is the second room, which was built in front of the entrance of the single room of the Slav house already before the 11th century, at first in order to protect the entrance against the direct influence of the rain, the snow or the cold; but later it constituted a separate space, used for the storing of various articles, for the stabling of cattle and for the habitation of persons in summer months (Fig. 45, b). «We must therefore suppose», says Niederle, «that the Slavs of South had abandoned their primary Northern homeland before the ante-room (vestibule or antichamber) had formed an essential and independent part of the house in the Northern countries. This progress, on the other hand, would not have been possible, as long as the population lived under semi-nomadic conditions and did not build permanent, spacy and strong shelters. Consequently, the transition to the permanent habitation was made from the 6th to the 11th century, that is to say at a period when the main bulk of the Jugoslavs had already descended towards the Danube and even more to the South of it» (2).

It is thus explained why the ancient Jugoslav house did not follow the evolution of the houses of the Slav peoples living in Eastern and central Europe, but has the primitive form of a Slav house, i.e. the form of a simple hut from the very beginning.

But also another great progress achieved by the Slav house architecture before the 10th century, under foreign influence this time, remained unknown to the old Jugoslav house: it is the creation, in the interior of the house, of the «izba» with its stove and later with its kitchen, which originated, as we have seen, (pp. 71 foll. above) from a German influence. Niederle says: «Only the old Jugoslav kuc'as have no ovens but just one hearth. This leads us to believe that: the Jugoslavs started their migration to the South before the introduction of the oven or of the stove into their houses» (3).

1) Franz Baron Nopcsa, Albanien, Berlin 1905, p. 8.
2) L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité slave. Paris, 1926, 2, 102 foll.
3) L. Niederle, op. cit. 122.